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ABSTRACT

A study examined whether intercity competition affects the content of daily newspapers and whether the content profile is consistent with the umbrella competition theory elaborated by James N. Rosse. Rosse's theory hypothesized four layers of newspaper competition--large metropolitan dailies, satellite daily papers, suburban dailies, and weekly newspapers and shoppers' papers. The current study hypothesized that as the intensity of umbrella competition increases, the following occurs: (1) amount of space devoted to news and editorial matter increases; (2) amount of space devoted to local news, editorial space and to staff copy increases; and (3) staff size and number of wire services carried increases. It was also hypothesized that suburban daily newspapers will carry more local news and editorial material than satellite city daily papers, which in turn will carry more than daily metropolitan papers. A randomly stratified sample of 114 newspapers was analyzed and coded. Results indicated that the first two hypotheses were partially supported, but the third hypothesis was not. Findings also showed that suburban daily newspapers had a significantly larger percentage of news section available for news, a smaller percentage of news space given to foreign news, a larger percentage of space given to county news, and smaller circulation than did metropolitan dailies. Satellite dailies had a larger percentage of space for county news than did metropolitan dailies, as well as less space for editorials addressing city issues. (Tables of data are included, and notes are attached.) (NKA)

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THE IMPACT OF INTERCITY COMPETITION ON DAILY NEWSPAPER CONTENT

by

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One of the notable trends in the newspaper industry during the 20th Century is the decline in the number of cities with two separately owned and operated newspapers. As of 1986, only 29 such cities existed.[1] Another 21 cities have joint operating agreement newspapers, making a total of only 50 cities that have competitive daily newspapers. These figures represent a drastic drop from 1920, when 45 percent of all the cities with dailies had two or more competing newspapers.[2]

Despite this decrease in intracity newspaper competition, the last 40 years have seen the growth of competition between newspapers located in different cities. This intercity competition was noted as early as 1965,[3] but it wasn't until 1975 that it was elaborated on by Rosse[4] and given the name "umbrella competition." He hypothesized four layers of competition, which are shown in Figure 1. The first layer is composed of large metropolitan daily newspapers that provide regional coverage. The second layer is composed of satellite daily newspapers that are similar to the metropolitan dailies, but more local in nature. The third layer is composed of suburban dailies surrounding the cities that have first and second layer newspapers. These third-layer newspapers are very local in nature. Weekly newspapers and shoppers make up the fourth layer. These are even more locally oriented than the second and third layer newspapers.

FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

Rosse hypothesized little competition within the layers and added that the papers compete between layers as higher-layer

newspapers move into lower-layer cities. In the time since Rosse proposed his umbrella model, another layer composed of national newspapers, such as USA Today and the national edition of The New York Times, is emerging in this competition. This layer would be located above the metropolitan dailies in Figure 1.

Since intracity competition can affect newspaper content,[5] its decline raises the question of how intercity newspaper competition might affect the nature of newspapers. The purpose of this study is to examine the impact of intercity newspaper competition on the content of daily newspapers. This impact will be examined in three areas: the allocation of news space, the allocation of editorial space and the allocation of resources by the newspaper organization. While not totally independent of each other, these are three distinct processes.[6]

Economic models of perfect competition assume homogeneous goods, many firms in the market, and that price is the important variable for determining demand in the market.[7] Because of this they are inappropriate to both intracity and intercity newspaper competition. Newspapers are heterogeneous products. They differ not only from firm to firm, but from day to day within the firm. Here we are concerned with product rather than price as the important variable in determining demand, because subscription prices for newspapers remain relatively stable.[8] The basis for this study will be Chamberlin's theory of monopolistic competition.[9] This theory deals with markets where the product is the independent variable determining demand and advertising is considered as a selling cost. Firms produce differentiated products. While differentiated products have no perfect

substitutes, some products are similar enough to be substituted by consumers. For example, news magazines and newspapers are not identical products. However, some people do substitute news magazines for newspapers to get certain types of news.

Chamberlin said customs, standards, and profit maximizing determine the makeup of products.[10] Custom is simply the inertia that builds up across time in markets with little price fluctuation. Standards are concepts of what a product should be. They can be set by various methods, such as ideas of professionalism in reporting news. Profit maximizing in a market with monopolistic competition is affected by the nature of the product. These three variables for determining product seem to fit newspapers well. In markets without direct newspaper competition, custom and standards probably play a great part in determining the nature of newspapers. This is true even in competitive markets, as can be seen through the standardized makeup of many newspapers.

The application of monopolistic competition theory to newspapers dates from Chamberlin's brief mention.[11] Corden held a similar view when he said that quality, which is a function of content and size of newspaper, determines newspaper circulation because management varies quality considerably, but rarely varies price.[12] Reddaway said monopolistic newspaper competition in England was such that newspapers need not become monopolies, but would rather differentiate themselves into "quality" and "popular" newspapers.[13] Rosse argues that newspapers are more accurately described as "isolated" rather than monopolies because of inter-media and intercity competition. He presents empirical

evidence that this isolated nature is due to the economies of scale inherent in the production of newspapers.[14] While monopolistic competition theory usually has been applied to intracity newspaper competition, it will be used here as the basis of umbrella competition. The monopolistic competition model, while applicable to newspaper competition, is not a perfect fit. It assumes many firms in the market, which is not the case even with umbrella competition. However, the concepts of the model are still useful in understanding what happens in newspaper markets.

The process of product differentiation, coupled with the need to remain a substitute, explains what happens in newspaper markets. Newspapers are basically products designed for local markets.[15] A newspaper moving into a nearby city needs to attract local circulation in order to attract local advertising. This requires the larger newspaper from outside the city to provide news and information about the market it is entering. The larger newspaper is usually already differentiated because of the more extensive international and national news it carries, but it still must have local news coverage if it is to serve as a substitute for the local newspaper. The process of a newspaper moving into a smaller paper's market becomes one of attracting readers by being a substitute of the local paper, while differentiating itself with more news about areas outside the local market. This need to remain a substitute while differentiating the content is important in determining the make-up of daily newspapers that face competition.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Much of the growth in umbrella competition has been in the area of suburban newspapers. Mishra reported a 150 percent increase in the number of suburban newspapers during the 1960s.[16] He estimated nearly 3,000 daily and non-daily newspapers were within 35 miles of the core city in 175 metropolitan areas by 1980. In 1978, for example, the San Francisco metropolitan area had two metropolitan newspapers, two satellite newspapers, eleven suburban dailies, and thirty-six other newspapers.[17]

Several factors have contributed to the increase in this growth. The post-World War II movement from metropolitan centers to suburbs contributed greatly,[18] but while population movement created an environment for the growth of suburban newspaper markets, developments in technology were also important in promoting the competition. Zone printing by metropolitan newspapers grew during the 1960s,[19] allowing larger newspapers to target specific areas in their editorial and advertising content. Satellite printing plants have allowed metropolitan newspapers to overcome some of the distribution problems that come from widening circulation areas.[20] The impact of technology has spread beyond the suburbs. Sohn said the increasing cost of energy and growing newsprint prices were forcing regional newspapers to abandon some of the distant subscribers.[21] A few years later, Morton was able to announce the "renaissance of the regionals."[22] He credited technological change.

Smaller newspapers have also reaped benefits from technological change. The use of central printing by groups of smaller newspapers allows them to enjoy the advantages of production economies of scale and lowered entry barriers for

smaller newspapers.[23] Blankenburg found central printing was significantly related to reduced advertising rates for Wisconsin weeklies.[24]

Whatever the causes, it appears that umbrella competition has become an important feature of the industry. Lacy studied umbrella competition in thirteen metropolitan statistical areas in the Southwest. He surveyed editors and publishers of metropolitan dailies, suburban dailies, and weeklies about their impressions of competition among layers.[25] He found competition was perceived as being greater downward than upward. More than 50 percent of the small daily and weekly publishers and editors said competition from metropolitan dailies was a serious threat to their newspapers' survival.

The future of this umbrella competition remains uncertain. Rosse had predicted that satellite and suburban newspapers would slowly gain an advantage over metropolitan newspapers,[26] while Roberts said the large dailies would run the suburban dailies out of business.[27] Lacy found that a large proportion of the metropolitan executives said umbrella competition would increase during the next ten years.[28] Since large metropolitan newspapers very often have the financial ability to expand into nearby markets, this result seems threatening to smaller newspapers.

Some research has been conducted on the impact of umbrella competition on circulation and number of newspapers in suburban markets. Niebauer found that the types of metropolitan dailies in a standard metropolitan statistical area affected the circulation of suburban newspapers in six markets.[29] Suburban dailies averaged greater circulation and had a larger proportion

of circulation in markets with joint operating agreement newspapers than in markets with competing dailies. A similar, but broader study by Lacy, Niebauer, Bernstein and Lau showed that central market structure had little or no affect on whether a suburb had a daily or weekly newspaper and had little effect on the circulation of such suburban newspapers.[30] Lacy examined the effects of monopoly versus competitive metropolitan dailies on small daily and weekly publishers' perceptions of umbrella competition.[31] He found that umbrella competition for circulation is perceived to be greater in monopoly markets than in competitive markets, while umbrella competition for advertising is perceived to be greater in competitive markets.

Newspaper content appears to be important in umbrella competition. Rosse said:

> Small changes in "quality" or location specific news can shift audiences from layer to layer where such choices are available to audiences, and can everywhere shift potential audiences into or out of newspaper readership.[32]

Yet, there is little research in the area of effects of umbrella competition on newspaper content. Lacy found that newspaper executives generally perceived umbrella competition for news to be less intense than circulation and advertising competition, but the study did not evaluate content and could not answer the question of effect on content.[33]

This lack of research is due in part to umbrella competition being a relatively new phenomenon. This study will examine whether intercity competition affects content of daily newspapers and whether the content of these newspapers is

consistent with Rosse's umbrella hypothesis. The following hypotheses will be tested:

1. As intensity of umbrella competition increases, the amount of space devoted to news and editorial matter will increase.
2. As intensity of umbrella competition increases, the amount of space devoted to local news, editorial space, and staff copy will increase.
3. As intensity of umbrella competition increases, staff size and number of wire services carried will increase.
4. Suburban daily newspapers will carry more local news and editorial material than satellite city daily newspapers.
5. Satellite city daily newspapers will carry more local news and editorial material than daily metropolitan newspapers.

The first three hypotheses are based on the need for newspapers to differentiate themselves. A suburban or satellite daily has an advantage over the larger metropolitan dailies because it is the hometown paper. This local attachment can be made even more of an advantage by stressing local news. This is the process of differentiating. The metro daily has the advantage of having a wider range of national and international stories. It must become a substitute for the local paper. This need to be a substitute requires an increase in local coverage, which the local paper must react to by further differentiating itself through local coverage. The result could be more news space with more local coverage and staff news on the part of the local paper.

The third and fourth hypotheses are related to Rosse's

contention that lower layers tend to be more locally oriented. Thus, satellite dailies should have relatively more local coverage than metropolitan dailies and suburban dailies should have more local coverage than satellite dailies.

METHOD

A randomly stratified sample of 114 newspapers was used in this study. The sample was stratified for ownership and competition and included 72 monopoly, 21 competitive, and 21 joint operating agreement newspapers.[34] The JOA newspapers more closely resembled competitive newspapers than monopoly newspapers,[35] so the JOA and competitive papers were grouped as competitive. A constructed week was randomly determined for November 1984.[36]

The news sections were analyzed for source of stories, geographic location of story subject, and type of coverage.[37] The number of staff writers and reporters was recorded using bylines.[38] In addition, number of wire services and news syndicates was included as a variable.[39] Editorial pages were analyzed for distribution of space among certain categories and for the geographic subjects of editorials.[40]

The author and graduate students coded the newspapers. As a reliability check, all coders coded the same copy of two newspapers at two different times during the coding process. Agreement for categories in the news section coding checks ranged from 74.8 percent to 91.4 percent. Agreement in categories for the two editorial section coding checks ranged from 69.6 percent to 100.0 percent.[41]

Space was measured in square inches, but the proportions of

space given to various categories were used as dependent variables in this study because the newspapers varied greatly in total square inches in the various categories and because allocation was the underlying decision process. These proportions were operationalized as percentages of various base figures.

The first three hypotheses were examined using regression analysis, with the independent variable being the degree of intercity competition. The degree of intercity competition was measured by the percentage of households in a newspaper's county that took another daily newspaper.[42] Ideally, a measure of competition for readers between two newspapers would be the product cross-elasticity of demand, a concept which is similar to the idea of price elasticity of demand. Newspapers would be strong substitutes if changes in the content of one would result in an increased demand for the other. The author is unaware of any formula for determining such a cross-elasticity. A measure for advertising competition would be the advertising price cross-elasticity of demand for two newspapers. This type of data is difficult to determine and not readily available. The measure used here was an acceptable substitute because a high percentage of households taking other newspapers indicates not only the presence of competitors but also how well those competitors are meeting the demands of readers and advertisers in the county.

In addition to the degree of intercity competition, market and organizational characteristics were used as control variables. These included average daily circulation, percentage of change in city population from 1970 to 1980, number of

households in the city, gross income per household in the city,[43] and intensity of intracity competition.[44] Data fit satisfactorily the assumptions of the procedures.[45]

The fourth and fifth hypotheses were examined using t-tests to compare the differences in certain content categories between the types of newspapers. Just what constitutes a suburban daily or a satellite daily is difficult to determine. The distance at which a city ceases to be a suburb of a larger city will vary. Distance is an important determinant, however, because distance will increase the costs of delivery, which can in turn affect the coverage of an area. Day-to-day coverage of a suburban or satellite area by a large metro is not likely to happen if the metro is not selling newspapers in that area. This study used two different definitions of the difference between suburban and satellite dailies, both based on distance. The first was a cut-off point of 25 miles. This was based on an earlier study that found distance made a difference in how intense intercity newspaper competition was as perceived by editors and publishers of small daily and weekly newspapers.[46] A second measure was a 39-mile cut-off point based on the data used here. By examining a continuum of the distance from a satellite or suburban city to the central metropolitan city in an standard metropolitan statistical area, the first gap of more than two miles occurred between 35 and 39 miles. The outside figure was then used to differentiate between a suburban daily and a satellite daily. The two measures were generally consistent in results.

RESULTS

The results of the regression analysis testing the first

three hypotheses are presented in Table 1. The first and second hypotheses are partially supported, but there is no support for the third hypothesis. The intensity of umbrella competition is significantly related to the percentage of news section used as a newshole. In other words, that advertising takes up a smaller percentage of the news sections when there is umbrella competition. The regression equation in Table 1 accounts for almost 35 percent of the total variance in this variable. Intensity of umbrella competition had the strongest impact of the independent variables. About 14 percent of the total variance in this variable was associated with the intensity of umbrella competition. While there was a relationship between intercity competition and space used for news, there was no relationship between intercity competition and editorial space.

INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

The regression in Table 1 also shows that the way the news space was used was affected by intercity competition. The percentage of news section given to news about the city in which the newspaper was located increased as the intensity of intercity competition increased. The regression equation accounted for almost 16 percent of total variance in local news coverage. Again, intensity of intercity competition was the strongest contributing factor. Umbrella competition accounted for slightly more than 15 percent of total variance. None of the other independent variables were statistically significant in the equation. There was no significant relationship between intensity of competition and editorial space, staff copy or county coverage.

None of the regressions in Table 1 that dealt with the allocation of resources showed a relationship between that allocation and umbrella competition. The number of wire services, and square inches of copy per reporter were significantly related to intracity competition but not to intercity competition. Staff size was related only to circulation.

Table 2 presents the t-tests used to test the fourth and fifth hypotheses. Suburban dailies had a significantly larger percentage of news section available for news, smaller percentage of news space given to foreign news, larger percentage of space given county news, and smaller circulation than did metropolitan dailies whether the cut-off point was 25 or 39 miles. While the difference between city coverage by suburban and metro dailies was not statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level, it did reach $p = .058$ at the 25-mile cut-off, which provides partially support for Rosse's prediction. The suburban dailies had a significantly larger percentage of news space given to city news than satellite dailies when the cut-off was 25 miles but not when the cut-off was 39 miles. Suburban dailies had a significantly larger percentage of news space given to county news than satellite cities when the cut-off was 39 miles, but not when it was 25 miles. Suburban dailies had greater circulations than did satellite dailies no matter what the cut-off point. Satellite dailies had a smaller percentage of news space given to foreign coverage and a larger percentage of space given to county news than did the metropolitan dailies for both cut-off points. When the cut-off point was 39 miles, the satellite city newspapers had

a statistically significant smaller percentage of editorial and op ed space given to editorials about the city than did metro dailies. Satellite newspapers had more of their news section available for news than did the metro dailies. Satellite dailies had less circulation than did the suburban dailies.

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

The results in Table 2 do not control for circulation and circulation is related to the amount of local coverage. Small newspapers tend to have more local coverage than do medium and large dailies.[47] However, the satellite city newspapers in this study had smaller circulation than did the suburban dailies. This would suggest that the satellite newspapers should have had more local coverage, which they did not. Therefore, circulation was apparently not an important factor in determining the local content of the three layers of newspapers.

Overall, there were some differences when the various layers of newspapers were compared, but the differences were not as clear-cut and consistent as the umbrella hypothesis would indicate. Suburban dailies carry a higher percentage of news about the city and county in which they are located than do satellite and metropolitan dailies, but no significant difference exists between satellite and metro dailies in coverage of local news. The three layers exhibit no significant differences in the percentage of editorial space given to editorials about the county.

CONCLUSIONS

The intensity of intercity newspaper competition influences the percentage of space in a newspaper given to news coverage and

coverage of news in the city in which the newspaper is located. As much as 14 percent of the total variance in the former variable and 15 percent in the latter variable was accounted for in the regression equation. This indicates the importance of such competition in the area of newspaper content.

The results are consistent with the application of the theory of monopolistic competition to intercity competition. As a larger newspaper invades a suburban market--whether that market is around a metropolitan area or a satellite city--the newspaper must differentiate itself to retain its readers. While the larger newspaper has more resources for covering events outside the local market, the smaller newspaper is on its own turf. It reacts by increasing local news coverage. The suburban management also faces the problem of dealing with a newspaper that has more news. The reaction is to increase the newshole. This increased newshole can be used for the increase in local coverage and additional state, regional, national or international coverage that will make the suburban daily more of a substitute for the invading metro or satellite daily.

The reaction in content is necessary to retain the local circulation that will appeal to local advertisers. Larger dailies are already appealing to chain-store advertisers because of the economies of covering several cities. Inroads into various suburban newspaper markets would make these larger newspapers even more attractive.

While the intensity of intercity competition has an impact, the problem of defining and understanding the different layers proposed by Rosse is still a problem. Newspapers within 25 to 39

miles of the central city in an SMSA tend to carry more local news, as Rosse suggested. The satellite newspapers did not carry more local news, as suggested. This result could be due to several causes. First, metro dailies face high distribution costs in competing with satellite cities at a distance. The cost of transporting large numbers of newspapers across many miles is high. Thus, there would be less competition. Second, the distance also creates a difference in content. A metro paper that must be printed three hours before a satellite city newspaper will tend to have less timely news, especially in the area of night sporting events. Third, the distance also requires that the metro dailies keep bureaus or networks of stringers away from their offices to cover events in the satellite cities. This is costly. Without such networks and bureaus, the satellite city newspaper faces little competition for local news and is therefore differentiated by the absence of news about the satellite city in the metro daily.

In effect, the intensity of competition between satellite and metro dailies is related to distance between these two markets. A statistically significant correlation of -.30 was found in these data between distance and intensity of intercity competition. The relationship, however, is not as great as one might expect because satellite printing plants are being used by metro dailies to overcome the costs associated with distance and because the measure of intensity used here does not differentiate the impact from different layers of newspapers.

The process by which competitive intensity between metro and satellite dailies is determined is complex and involves more than

just distance. The levels of technology used by the metro daily, the quality of the satellite newspaper and the managerial decisions of the metro daily all play a role. However, the forces that intense competition releases in suburban markets can still be expected to apply to satellite markets. It is just more difficult to define them by distance from a central metropolitan city.

In summary, intercity newspaper competition does play an important role in determining newspaper content, just as earlier studies suggested that it plays an important role in advertising and circulation decisions. As the intensity of such competition increases, the proportion of space given to news coverage in general and local coverage in particular increases. There is a need, however, to develop and refine the model suggested by Rosse. A model adding a national level of newspaper and one suggesting why and how the intercity competition develops among the layers would be a useful tool in understanding what is happening in the newspaper industry. The development of such a model is important because the economic power wielded by large metropolitan dailies, especially ones that are group-owned, is a threat to the survival of smaller newspapers.[8] Currently, there is little antitrust case law to guide public policy in this area. There is just cause for concern that without public policy in this area, intercity competition may go the way of intracity competition. Without adequate safeguards, competition may cease to be an important force in most markets for making newspapers respond to the needs and demands of their readers.

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[36] The constructed week included November 10, 11, 13, 15 19, 23 and 28.

[37] The operationational definitions of all the categories and a more extensive explanation of the content analysis are available from the author.

[38] While counting bylines will not reveal the size of the entire staff, it will give a good estimate of the number of writers and reporters who helped fill the space in the newspaper for the period studied. The assumption is that a low ratio of space to reporter is more indicative of a quality newspaper than a high ratio because these ratios are related to time available for working on stories and amount of wire copy used.

[39] The number of wire services was taken from 1984 Editor & Publisher International Yearbook (New York: Editor & Publisher Co., 1984).

[40] These included distribution of editorial and op ed pages among editorials, letters to the editor and guest columns, staff and syndicated columns, and cartoons. The editorial were classified by subject into city, county and other editorials.

[41] Agreement in the first news section reliability check was 81 percent for source, 89.4 percent for geographic subject, 74.8 percent for nature of news, and 81.4 percent overall. Agreement for the second news section reliability check was 91.4 percent for source, 82.8 percent for geographic subject, 81.4 percent for

nature of news and 85.2 overall. Agreement for the editorial section in the first reliability check was 79.3 percent for editorials, 69.6 percent for editorial subject, 80.8 percent for columns, 100 percent for cartoons, and 81.6 percent overall. Agreement for the editorial section in the second reliability check was 100 percent for all categories.

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[43] Gross income per household came from Newspaper Rate and Data Vol. 67, No. 5, May 12, 1985 (Willmette, Illinois: Standard Rate and Data Service, 1985); average daily circulation came from 1985 Editor & Publisher International Yearbook (New York: Editor & Publisher Co, 1985); percentage change in population from 1970 to 1980 came from City and County Data Book 1983, 10th ed. (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Commerce, 1983); number of households in the city was taken from Editor & Publisher Market Guide 1984 (Editor & Publisher Co., 1983).

[44] Instensity of competition was determined by subtracting the percentage of total circulation in a city held by the trailing newspaper from the percentage held by the leading newspaper in the case of a two-newsapper city. If three newspapers were present, the percentage of the market held by the newspaper being studied was subtracted from the percentage held by the leading newspaper. The absolute value was then used for a zero to 100 scale with zero representing equal distribution of circulation and 100 representing a single-newspaper market.

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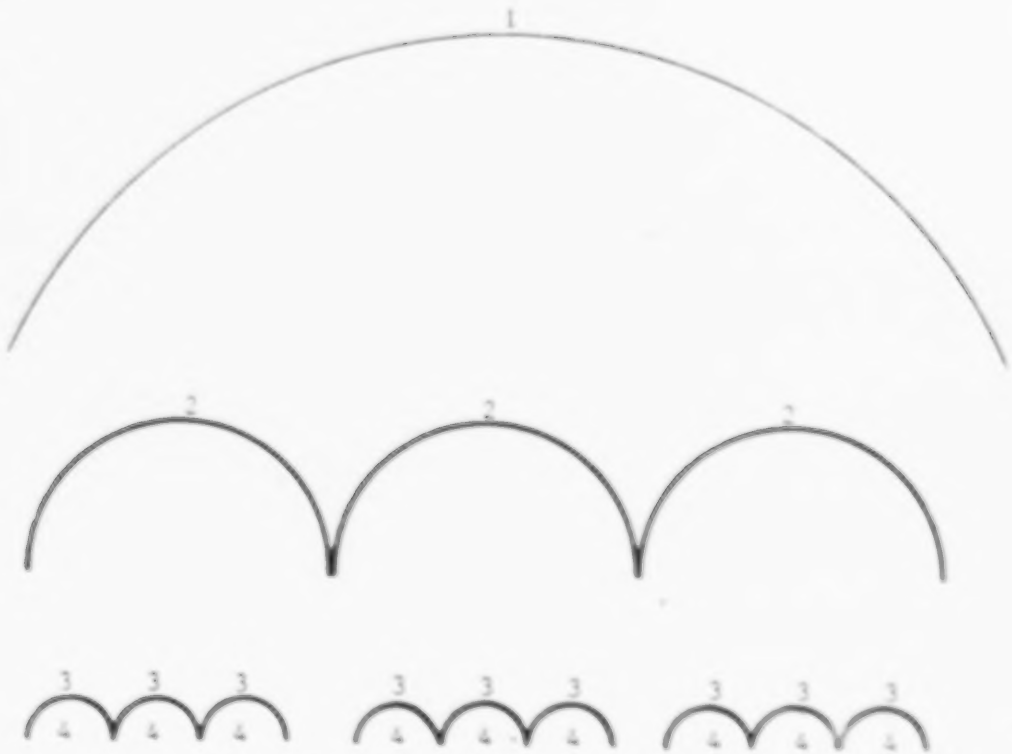

Fig. 1 The Umbrella Model. Layer 1 includes newspapers in large metropolitan centers. Layer 2 includes newspapers in satellite cities. Layer 3 includes suburban dailies. Layer 4 includes weeklies and shoppers.

SOURCE: Bruce M. Owen, Economics and Freedom of Expression (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger Publishing, 1975), p. 51.

Table 1

Regression of content measures on intensity of intercity newspaper competition

	INDEPENDENT VARIABLES															
	Umbrella Competition		Households in city		Change in city pop. 1970-1980		Gross inc. per household		Average circulation		Intra-city Competition					
	Beta	F	Beta	F	Beta	F	Beta	F	Beta	F	Beta	F	Adjusted R-squared	F		
DEPENDENT VARIABLES																
Budget Allocation																
Number of reporters	.067	.81	.177	2.86	-.019	.05	.054	.44	.516	22.97*	-.048	.37	.453	19.61*		
Percent of total newspaper space given news and editorial matter	.096	1.25	.260	4.65*	-.027	.09	-.101	1.21	-.531	18.34*	.273	9.18*	.274	8.12*		
Square inches of news copy per reporter	.075	.76	-.088	.52	.017	.04	-.189	4.13	-.222	3.15	.319	12.29*	.265	7.79*		
Percent of news section used as newshole	.331	16.45*	.157	4.73*	.022	.06	-.012	.01	-.447	14.37*	.328	12.92*	.144	4.86*		
Number of wire services	-.061	1.11	.008	.01	.080	1.72	.091	2.12	.678	65.59*	-.271	19.73*	.669	39.07*		
Percent of news section given in-depth coverage	-.094	.99	.267	4.07*	-.046	.21	-.028	.08	.137	1.20	-.250	.25	.124	3.67*		
News Space Allocation																
Percent of news section given staff copy	.090	1.34	.254	5.46*	-.032	.156	.249	8.84*	.287	6.52*	-.107	1.73	.426	13.88*		
Percent of news section given city coverage	.431	21.67*	-.078	.36	.116	1.423	-.002	.31	-.053	.16	-.062	.41	.159	4.56*		

Table 1 -- Continued

Percent of news section given county coverage	.096	1.05	-.102	.62	-.019	.35	.112	1.25	-.044	.11	.331	11.04*	.133	3.84*
Editorial and Op Ed Space Allocation														
Percent of op ed/ editorial pages given editorials	-.141	2.12	-.039	.08	-.138	1.82	-.036	.12	.178	1.97	-.129	1.87	.274	2.91*
Percent of op ed/ editorial pages given editorials about city	.137	1.90	-.143	1.04	-.139	1.76	-.032	.08	.126	.66	-.171	1.58	.027	1.52
Percent of op ed/ editorial pages given editorial about the county	.002	.01	-.037	.07	.005	.01	-.024	.05	.148	.99	-.004	.01	.000	.24
Percent of op ed/ editorial pages given letters and guest columns	.133	1.74	-.077	.296	.117	1.19	-.000	.08	.212	2.11	-.062	.34	.000	.84

* p < .05, two-tailed test
* p < .01, two-tailed test
* p < .001, two-tailed test

N = 114

TABLE 2

T-TEST FOR METROPOLITAN, SATELLITE AND SUBURBAN DAILY NEWSPAPERS

Variable	Metro Daily Mean	Suburban Daily Mean		Satellite Daily Mean	
		25 mile cut-off	39 mile cut-off	25 mile cut-off	39-mile cut-off
	(N=51)	(N=22)	(N=35)	(N=41)	(N=28)
Percent of news section available for news	54.01	63.83*	62.41*	60.26*	60.38*
Percent of news section given city coverage	7.50	9.70	8.62	7.27*	7.49
Percent of news section given foreign coverage	6.00	4.03*	4.45*	4.93*	4.82*
Percent of news section given county news	2.60	5.78*	5.57*	4.30*	3.87*+
Percent of op ed/ editorial pages given editorials about city	2.19	2.70	2.34	1.30	1.10*
Percent of op ed/ editorial pages given editorials about the county	1.78	1.44	1.28	1.09	1.12
Average daily circulation	194.721	31.798*	20.074*	12.481*+	10.281*+

* Difference between metro and suburban newspapers is significant at the p < .05 level.

* Difference between the suburban and satellite newspapers is significant at the p < .05 level.

\+ Difference between satellite and metro newspapers is significant at the p < .05 level.